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We had a buffet lunch at the Gascoignes. Their son was there with his wife, a daughter of Bill Harcourt. They are living in New York, where he is working at Morgan, Guaranty Trust Co.

Bill Tyler, Chip Bohlen and myself went shopping at Trimingham's. I had bought doeskin trousers there thirty years ago. This excellent store has been in the same family since about 1840, and there are still four strapping male Triminghams connected with it. Saw Adelaide Scherbatov there.

The President took off by helicopter at 5 p.m. to pick up his plane at the other end of the island, and proceed to Palm Beach. The rest of us followed about 6:30, on his other plane bound for Washington; it was a two-hour trip.

December 23, 1961 - Saturday

E, David and Nicky left Georgetown at 7:00 this morning, to take the Southern Railroad train to Lynchburg. It was a foul day. Since snow had been heavy in the north, they lingered in the station for three hours, but finally went off.

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October 1, 1961 - Sunday

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Wonderful sunny day. I went to see George Garrett this morning, and found that dear fellow well. Read and packed, until Jane McBaine and Eve Labouisse called. After Jane left, the ever charming and admirable Eve talked to me about Harry's recent experience, when he was suddenly informed that he would not, after all, be the head of the new Foreign Aid Agency. It seems that some of the young hatchet boys at the White House, after Labouisse had piloted the bill through a difficult Congress, decided he was not "tough" enough to administer the agency. I suspect they realized that this man of utter integrity would not allow it to become a dumping ground for political favorites. Anyhow, Messrs. Dungan and Goodwin of the White House had their way. After attempting to put over George Woods, the excellent President, or Chairman, of the First of Boston Investment Company (whose proposed appointment made the Dixon-Yates opponents in Congress emit loud cries of alarm), the position was incontinently offered to Fowler Hamilton, a New York lawyer, lately under consideration to replace Dulles in CIA.

Harry, one of the best liked men in Washington, was left holding the bag. There was an outburst from his friends, and members of both parties in Congress.

Eve told me some of this; the rest I had previously learned. Harry returns tonight from Sweden, where he went for the funeral of Dag Hammarsjkold.

We dined at the Bohlens, always a merry occasion. The Sulzbergers, Joyces, Joe Alsops, and Phil Grahams were there.

October 2, 1961 - Monday

Dean Rusk is back in Washington. I attended his morning staff meeting; afterwards he had a private talk with me. He said his conversations with Gromyko had progressed to a point where he thought there was almost a sufficient basis for

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an agreement to negotiate. He wanted me not to leave Washington this afternoon, as was my intention, but to remain a few more days, and fully acquaint myself with the current Berlin discussions.

I asked him what was to be done with Harry Labouisse. He answered that he felt badly about the affair, it had been mismanaged, and Harry could have any diplomatic appointment he wanted. I inquired if this included Greece. The answer was affirmative.

I lunched with Harry at the 1925 F Street Club. He told me the story of his ICA adventure. I congratulated him on being able to leave this graveyard, although deploring the sorry way in which he had been treated.

He said he had been offered the Embassies in Lebanon, Argentina, and the Philippines, as well as appointments as Assistant to the Secretary of State, and roving Ambassador. He declined them, but would, if it were offered, accept Greece.

I hope this will come to pass. Politicians are usually baffled when they deal with as unselfish and high-minded a character as Labouisse. The White House certainly gummed up this one, and the President, a sensitive man, is supposed to feel chagrined about it. Of course Greece would be lucky to have Eve and Harry there. Ellis Briggs, the present Ambassador, is one of the best men in the Service, but has had a heart attack. It seems he is thinking of retiring. He is a Career Ambassador, a coveted distinction, and thoroughly deserves to be.

This afternoon, I read myriads of documents about Berlin, and talked to numbers of individuals. Averell has just come back, and in every corridor I run into old acquaintances.

E spent the day in New York, where she consulted Dr. Kling, and homed on Washington for a late supper. Rained today; temperature 70°.

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October 3, 1961 - Tuesday

65°, overcast. Read transcripts of Rusk's three colloquies with Gromyko. I found little encouragement in them. As has always been the case, I have difficulty in snatching a few words with key officers in the Department. Most of their time seems to be spent in meetings, either interdepartmental or interagency. Many of these meetings are necessary, but I believe their number and frequency is grossly excessive.

Visited around the Department, and was none the wiser for my interviews with overworked people. Lunched at the Metropolitan Club with a covey of Ambassadors--Julius Holmes from Iran, Jack Hickerson from Manila, Homer Byington from I don't know where, and Ted Achilles of the Operations Center. We rolled dice for drinks and food; Hickerson and Byington were stuck with the checks.

Fiddled around in the Department this afternoon. Was telephoned from London about engagements, but could give no definite date for my return. Cancelled all engagements in New York. Dined at home with E on delicious fare sent in from the Metropolitan. Washed the dishes about nine o'clock. Poor Miss Schu is still at the office. Worked on a couple of speeches. It is raining.

October 4, 1961 - Wednesday

Temperature 60°. E left for New York to see Dr. Kling and take some tests. Elim and Al called me from London, as Tom Beale did yesterday, about engagements there. I told them I was in the unhappy position of not yet knowing from the Secretary how long he wished me to remain here.

Went to a fascinating Security briefing in Bill Boswell's shop. We were inducted into the latest mysteries and deviltries of our enemies.

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Lunched at the 1925 F Street Club. Henry Brandon of the London Sunday Times came to see me at home this evening.

I left him at 7:00 p.m. to meet Dean Rusk at the Department. We spent an hour or more alone. I was again struck by the clarity and precision of his mind. [redacted] He thought a UN presence in Berlin--perhaps by the removal of subsidiary organs from Geneva--would be useful, but does not favor the transfer of the capital from New York. He believes its siting in the United States is, on the whole, useful to us.

I did not question him on the matter, much discussed and frequently criticized here, of why the US and the other occupying powers did not, when the Berlin sector closing occurred, drive through the obstacles with tanks.

Dean gave me various instructions and messages for Alec Home, whom he much admires and trusts.

After we [redacted] absorbed some Bourbon, I left him to his work and went off to the lighter pleasure of supping with Jane McBaine.

October 5, 1961 - Thursday

To the Department this morning. Then I packed and flew to New York. Strolled about, talked oil with Andy Butler and Jim Durbin (President of Barber Oil Co before going to see Mariettaand Ronnie Tree, where I hugely enjoyed myself.

Picked up E, who is staying at the Janetskis, and dined her at the Italian Pavillon.

We went to the Brigitte Bardon movie, "Truth" (La Verite). Wonderful show, acting in parts superb. B.B. lush.

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October 6, 1961 - Friday

E left for Washington this morning, and will return Monday for further medical tests. The newspapers announced the approaching death of Sam Rayburn; at 79 he has an inoperable cancer.

Went to see George White to run over accounts. Lunched at the Brook with Jim Bruce; he has almost recovered from his foot ailment, and is in his usual good spirits.

Visited Averell this afternoon at his house. In spite of his great patience, he is somewhat fed up with the never-ending Laotian negotiations. He believes the South Vietnam situation critical. He returns to Geneva Sunday. I saw Alan Kirk at Averell's house.

Dined with Ailsa.

October 7, 1961 - Saturday.

Superb day. Went to Idlewild and took the 10:00 a.m. Pan American Clipper to London. Read Swanberg's 527-page opus, Citizen Hearst. Extraordinary fellow, Hearst was. Schizophrenic. No one in modern times could [redacted] have lived a more egocentric life. Something fascinating about his gargantuan ambitions, tastes, talents, and vices.

A six-hour trip. Al met me at the airport. Early to bed by Washington time, but could not sleep.

October 8, 1961 - Sunday

Sunny. Temperature 55°.

Jean Monnet came to see me this morning, stayed for lunch, and left, afterwards, for the airport.

Harold Macmillan had sent for him to inquire into how he had conceived and run the "Commissariat du Plan", and to discuss the Common Market and

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I went to the Peruvian Embassy at 34 Porchester Terrace, to attend for the first time a meeting of the Latin American Ambassadors, presided over by their Dean, the Peruvian. It was a [redacted] jolly occasion, [redacted] but not much of substance was expressed, except what seemed to be their general dislike for the Afro-Asian Bloc tactics in the UN. Someone brought up the question of the transfer of UN headquarters to Berlin. A majority appeared to be against it, but an articulate minority favored it. Being, in effect, on Peruvian soil, we drank pisco sours, a potent cocktail.

Gromyko has left here, and returned to Moscow. In general, the British attitude toward his proposals was that illustrated by President Kennedy's comment "You offered to trade us an apple for an orchard; we don't do that in this country."

Mr. Snedaker, General Manager of TIME-LIFE International, who has headquarters in London, came to see me in regard to the charitable contributions his office expects to make this year in England. He is personally in favor of devoting them in large part to the support of scholars from underdeveloped countries.

Messrs. Haynes and Towle, two officers of Business International, called on me. They are having meetings in London next week, and [redacted] proposed I brief their 100 or more members on such topics as why Messrs. Dillon and Ball seemed to be unenthusiastic about the importance of private international business. I thought most of the questions they expected to have me asked were outrageous, and told them so. We wound up by my inviting the American members of their group to come in for a private briefing one day next week.

Miss Alice Rudolph, a participant in the "Experiment in Living" program in England, came to see me, with a letter of introduction from Senator Russell Long.

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I expect we are going to have trouble over the camel driver, Bashir Ahmed, whom the Vice President [redacted] invited to come from Pakistan to New York as his guest. He will be hung up in London for a day or longer. Since he does not speak English, and probably requires a special diet, we have been enjoined to try to see to his comfort.

Pam Berry told me yesterday, apropos of the announcement that Somerset Maugham intended to leave the bulk of what is said to be a fortune of more than twenty million dollars for the assistance and encouragement of struggling authors, that when his daughter, Liza, became engaged to John Hope, there was quite an inter-change between the respective parents. John's father, the late Lord Linlithgow, [redacted] Chairman of the Midland Bank, wrote a letter to Willie, saying in effect that if he was thinking of making over his money to Liza on her marriage, [redacted] her father-in-law and the bank would be happy to advise him. He got back this reply: "Dear Lord Linlithgow: I have read King Lear. Yours sincerely, W. S. Maugham." Maugham, [redacted] now about 88, [redacted] is thinking of moving from the French Riviera to London to live.

We dined tonight with the Spanish Ambassador. This enormous dinner was to celebrate Columbus Day. The Spanish and Peruvian Ambassadors spoke eloquently. The Portuguese Ambassador and Ambasadress, the delightful Rochettas, were also there.

October 13, 1961 - Friday

Sunny, temperature 65°. Francis McIntyre called on me this morning. This is the first stop on his usual swing for Caltex around the continent.

I lunched at the American Club with Lewis Jones and De[redacted] Myers. Brooks Hays, Assistant Secretary of State for liaison with Congress, came to see me this afternoon. He [redacted] served many years in the House of Representatives from

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Arkansas. He was defeated when he last ran, through the efforts of Gov. Faubus, who hated Hays because of his anti-segregation stand. Brooks thinks Bill Fulbright will remain in the Arkansas Senate race and try for re-nomination in the next August Primary. It is possible Faubus will run against him, in which case there would be a close fight.

Donald Downes visited me. He left Rome to escape watching one of his books (the film rights to which he had sold) be massacred by the Producer and Director assigned by Paramount to make the movie.

Al Puhan, Executive Director of WEU, came to see me this afternoon.

October 14, 1961 - Saturday

I was at the shooting school at nine o'clock this morning. This afternoon E and I went to the National Gallery.

October 15, 1961 - Sunday

Heavy fog today, [redacted] most air trips have been cancelled. We stayed at home working and reading.

October 16, 1961 - Monday

Mrs. St. George, who has been for about 15 years a Congresswoman from New York, came to see me this morning. I thought her [redacted] sensible on the subject of how much time was wasted by important officers of the Executive Branch of our Government in appearances before Congressional Committees.

Assistant Secretary of Labor, Dodson, called on me. He has for a long time represented his Department in liaison work with the House and Senate.

I attended a lunch at Claridges, given by Lord Rootes in my honor. This was done in his capacity as Chairman of the Western Hemisphere Exports Council.

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October 17, 1961 - Tuesday.

We had a lunch today at home for the following:

Senator Douglas
Congressman Riehlman
Congressman Hardy
Commander Kirkow
Mr. and Mrs. Robert Beebe
Mrs. Parker
Miss Louise Bruce

I went to call on Ngo Dinh Luyen, the Vietnamese Ambassador here. He is the youngest brother of President Ngo Dinh Diem. He has been the least influential of the President's brothers, but it is reported [redacted] this might change since in 1958, after having ten daughters, the Luyens finally had a son. He is 47, [redacted] attended French schools, and holds an engineering degree from the Ecole Centrale des Arts et Manufactures in Paris. In 1937 he entered the Indochinese administrative service. In 1954, when his brother Diem became President of the Council of Ministers, he was named Ambassador at large with headquarters in Paris. He attended a number of international conferences, and in 1956 was appointed to London. He has the reputation of being a bon vivant, and shares the general political philosophy of his family--feeling a benevolent, paternalistic, but authoritarian government most appropriate for Vietnam in its present state of political immaturity.

The Ambassador told me he had just returned from a five months absence in his native country, which accounts for the difficulty I [redacted] had in arranging a date with him. He is one of the most loquacious individuals I [redacted] ever met. He would like the churches, the Salvation Army, and Moral Rearmament to combine their efforts to improve world conditions.

Bob Estabrook, of the Washington Post, has arrived here for a two-year stay as a foreign correspondent. I saw him this afternoon.

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Lada-Mocarski, who worked with me during the war in the OSS, and is now Senior Vice President of J. Henry Schroder Banking Corporation, in New York City, came to see me. We had a talk about old times, as well as [redacted] economic conditions in Europe. He is well informed, a splendid linguist, and runs a large investment trust for Schroder.

E and I attended a reception given in our honor by the Womens Press Club of London. This club has a house off Fleet Street, where members are free to drop in at any time during the day and most of the night. The atmosphere was one of [redacted] gaiety. It is fitted up like a club, with a bar at one end, and various rooms where people can congregate, read, eat, or drink.

There must have been 400 or more ladies present, representing dozens of newspapers, magazines, radio, and television; also, there was a sprinkling of authoresses, novelists, biographers, and poets. It was really a wonderful cross section of feminine literary life in London. A few members had come down from the provinces, including an amusing individual who writes a daily column for a northern newspaper on cooking.

October 18, 1961 - Wednesday

I delivered a lecture this morning at the Imperial Defence College. Afterwards there was a question period. The whole affair lasted about two hours. It was a good audience, composed of high ranking officers of the British Services, as well as some Commonwealth Officers. There were three Americans, out of the 100 or more attending these courses.

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AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

It is an honor to have been invited to address, ETC.

I hope you will forgive me if I dwell upon military affairs only in relationship to foreign policy. In fact, the two are so complementary that one without the other is incomplete.

This is especially true in the case of my own country, where, until comparatively recently, we had never sufficiently prepared for a war until we had already become engaged in it.

It is almost impossible to explain present American foreign policy without tracing its past history.

During our Colonial era, we had no foreign policy, or standing army. Our enemies were domestic - Indians and French. When the Indians made inroads upon our settlements we fought them by individual, family, or militia action. Similarly, when our Mother country, England, pursued its quarrels with the French on the North American continent, the colonies sent volunteers to serve under British officers. The most notable of these was George Washington, whose military reputation, gained in frontier skirmishes, caused him later to be named Commander-in-Chief of the American forces in the Revolution.

During the struggle for independence, we realized the necessity of a foreign policy. It largely consisted of trying to gain allies, financial and logistical support for our troops, and sympathy for our cause.

Our first and most important ally was France. Without her assistance, the American Revolution could not have succeeded. The government of Louis XVI was not insensible of the advantages to be gained, in terms of

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French national interests, if England should be deprived of colonies already important to her economy, and to her political system. Other quasi-alliances followed, [redacted] with Holland, Russia and Spain, from whom we secured financial and commercial advantages.

With the cessation of hostilities, our continued dependence upon other countries seemed unnecessary. George Washington, first President of the United States, observed: "It is a maxim, founded on the universal experience of mankind, that no nation is to be trusted farther than it is bound by its own interest; and no prudent statesman or politician will venture to depart from it." In his Farewell Address, upon retirement, after two terms as President, he said: "Permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others should be excluded * * * there can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation."

Except for some increment in strength when war with France seemed imminent during the Presidency of John Adams, Washington's successor, our military establishment was scarcely adequate, even for ~~policy~~ defensive purposes. In fact, our third President, Thomas Jefferson, wished to reduce the Navy to complete impotence by laying up the seven larger Men of War in the Potomac River, where they would be under the immediate jurisdiction of the Navy Department and would require - as he expressed it - "one set of plunderers to take care of them." In his second annual message to Congress, he recommended that the entire Navy be stored in a large drydock, to be built at Washington. This was only a short time before he found it necessary to embark on a maritime war against the Barbary pirates.

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Under our fourth President, James Madison, we commenced a war with Great Britain when we had only 8000 troops, most of whom were located at Indian posts in the west. Our naval forces scarcely deserved the name. The War Department, in addition to the Secretary, consisted of about a dozen clerks.

In 1846, we went to war with Mexico. Again, insufficient military preparations had been made for it; although it ended successfully for us, we soon disbanded most of the forces raised for this emergency.

Our next foreign war was with Spain in 1898, and broke out over Cuba. Once more, militia and volunteers comprised the bulk of our forces.

Looking back over the century and a quarter to which I have referred, one cannot escape the conclusion that our military posture throughout had been of a highly haphazard character.

During that same period, we had made two principal foreign policy commitments: First, the Monroe Doctrine; and Second, the Open Door in China.

In neither of these cases, and the same was true of the wars to which I have alluded, did we ever match our political commitments with appropriate military forces.

The Monroe Doctrine of 1823 was a bold pronouncement. The United States undertook to say to the world that, following the attainment of independence by the Spanish Colonies in Latin America in 1822, the U.S. would henceforth regard any attempt on the part of European powers to "extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." Moreover, "The American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained" were not to be considered

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"as subjects for future colonization by any European powers."

On the other hand, Monroe expressly disclaimed any intention of interfering with the then existing colonies or dependencies of any European nations; he also stated that "in the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do."

In April 1824, John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State, negotiated a convention with Russia, fixing the southern limit of Russian sovereignty at 54° 40' north latitude.

This treaty was of crucial importance. The Russians had already crossed the Bering Straits from Siberia, and had extended their fur trading posts as far south as San Francisco. The Czar had designated a large part of the California coast "Russian America."

We made, however, no attempt to match these far-reaching commitments by compensating increases in our military establishment. Instead, we relied, without any open acknowledgment of the fact, on our tacit understanding with Great Britain, whose government was sympathetic to the aims of the Monroe Doctrine, to protect our hemisphere with the overwhelming might of the British Navy.

This enabled us to dispense not only with a consistent foreign policy, but with any substantial regular land forces or Navy. Our people, free of military burdens, devoted themselves to the development of their continent.

The second policy to which I referred was that of the Open Door in China, announced in 1900. By it, we favored equal rights in China for all nations, and the maintenance of the economic and political

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integrity of what remained of China, after various foreign nations had sliced off portions of it. However, we never put ourselves in readiness to enforce by military means a violation of our declarations.

So, we went along, relatively undisturbed, to the time of the First World War, still secure, or so we assumed, because of the undisputed might of the British Navy, and because of the balance of power on the European Continent.

American involvement in that war was ostensibly based on depredations committed against our maritime trade by Germany. Actually, the American people, slowly but surely, had come to realize that the conquest of Britain and France by the Germans would result in a disequilibrium in the European power balance, disastrous to us. ~~Also,~~ Additionally, the sympathies of our ~~citizens~~ people were, in major degree, favorable to the Western allies.

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The enthusiasm with which the citizens of the United States had entered the First World War did not long survive its termination. The ambitious project of Woodrow Wilson for a League of Nations to secure permanent peace was killed by political objections in the United States Senate. Many of its supporters remained faithful to it, but as unprecedentedly prosperous conditions began to prevail throughout our country the mass of politicians and people sank back into the comforting arms of isolationism.

Armaments, bases, and alliances were forgotten. Our Army, Navy, and Air Force were reduced to almost skeleton extent compared with their wartime plenitude.

When the disturbing events of the 1930's occurred, such as Hitler's rise to power, Japanese actions in Manchuria, Italian aggression in Ethiopia, [redacted] the Spanish Civil War, no popular demand for participation by the United States Government in consultation over these crises attained pressure proportions.

In fact, it was the fall of France and the Blitz of Britain that alarmed us finally about our own security. Previously, support of the Western allies had been given in considerable measure, but had not been accompanied by a massive strengthening of our [redacted] military, [redacted] Service.

Once engaged in World War Two, our whole national life was geared to a global military effort. Men, munitions, and [redacted] necessary support of every nature was given to the greatest war effort we had ever made.

Upon its conclusion, in concert with our allies, excepting the Soviet Union, we unwisely proceeded to demobilize our forces, and to dismantle or destroy our equipment. However,

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However, our foreign policy was destined to undergo a revolutionary change, involving us from then until now, in a fashion [redacted] unknown to our history, in world affairs and alliances.

In 1945, the United States Senate ratified our membership in the United Nations with only two dissenting votes.

Nor did we slacken in our concern for the rehabilitation of the war-shattered economies of our allies, or even of our enemies. Timely interim aid was furnished to France, Italy and Austria, succeeded by the more permanent provisions of the Marshall Plan. Threats against the integrity of Greece evoked our quick response; we began to help neutral Turkey to place herself in a better posture of defense.

Our most serious commitment was to the North Atlantic Pact in 1949. Thereupon, we abandoned the conception of limiting ourselves to hemispheric defense, though we continued our own interest in it as partners of our Latin American neighbors through the Act of Chapultepec and the Rio Pact.

Later developments in our foreign policy parallel those in your own country. We have made huge outlays of funds for economic assistance, and of military equipment, to other countries. We engaged in the Korean War. We have on permanent station abroad several hundred thousand American soldiers. Large U.S. fleets patrol distant seas. Our Air Force is almost ubiquitous.

A serious threat to international peace and security anywhere in the world is of concern to my country. An outside attack on any NATO member is an attack on all of us.

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The most important danger point, at the present time, is Berlin. With singular stupidity, relying on a continuation of war-time alliances into peacetime relationships, we consented, in the West, to an arrangement, involving [redacted] Germany, predicated on a belief that Soviet Russia would adopt foreign policies consonant with those of the West. No greater mistake could have been made. The thrust of Soviet policy has few parallels in modern history, unless it be equated to doctrines enunciated and maintained during wars of religion. The Soviet Government knew what it wanted, and had long meditated how to achieve it; the West, with regrettable infantilism, thought that after winning the war, in a military sense, political considerations would be subordinated to a level of little importance.

"What the soldiers gain, the politicians lose" is [redacted] often [redacted] against those unfortunate Western wartime leaders who, in moments of delirium, apathy, carelessness, or ignorance, traded the glories of victory for a sentimental and unrealistic return to pious, meaningless, protestations of principle.

One should never whip a dead horse. We are the inheritors of past mistakes, but denunciation of their makers will not advance our interests.

Where, today, is there a source of contention, [redacted] affecting world peace? In one place only, Berlin.

By an agreement so extraordinary for [redacted] now to seem almost unbelievable, the Western Allies bartered their dominance as [redacted] occupiers of Thuringia, Southern Saxony, and other significant portions of East Germany, for an equivocal, quadripartite supremacy shared by the Soviets, over Berlin.

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This understand did not envisage an incorporation of Berlin into one of the occupying zones; in fact it constituted an enclave as remote from essential German affairs never, never land had been summoned into being.

Now, the Western nations, namely the US, UK, and France, as occupants of Berlin, deriving from rights of conquest, have rested their status there on three points: (1) Intention to preserve the liberties of the citizens of West Berlin; (2) Intention to maintain the stationing of allied troops in West Berlin; (3) Intention to maintain rights of ingress and egress to West Berlin. These are minimal demands.

If we, of the West, forfeit any of them, we will be hopelessly discredited and dishonored. To continue our ~~minimal, and disadvantageous~~ position in West Berlin, we must primarily rely on the deterrent ~~power~~ of nuclear strength. In other words, tens of millions of Americans and British might die to preserve the West Berliners from subversion or subjugation.

I mention these matters, because they involve political, social, and other interests of all the nations of the world. It seems almost intolerable to persist in our pursuit of normal life when the meaning of peaceful life on this planet is obscured by the menace of threatening war.

This is not the place in which to foreshadow the future. I could develop in almost interminable and boring detail, those unresolved complications that must be taken into account in dealing with a crisis so apparent and dangerous as the present one.

As I understand it, most ~~[illegible]~~ of you are engaged in studies designed to elicit from your talents those qualities of

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and knowledge
leadership necessary to implement national policies. Never before, in history, have the problems posed been of such complexity. Population-wise, the Western world is outnumbered. Yet the extent of our human resources, of our tradition of civilization, our inheritance of pride, gives us every reason for confidence. If we can unite, if we can bring to bear the almost infinite power of the West on behalf of world peace, we will gain the day. What we need are the prosaic qualities of confidence and patience.

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Joan Braden and Oatsie Leiter arrived late last night to stay at the house. This morning, not knowing that Oatsie was here, we telephoned to Rome to find why she had not been on the plane upon which they had telegraphed she was coming. The house in Rome was perturbed at her disappearance, for it was only afterwards our residence we discovered she had been let in/by the night watchman, and was safely asleep.

Sue Railey flew over from Paris this morning to stay. I had the three ladies and Al Wells for lunch in my office.

Jimmy Moose, Ambassador to the Sudan, came to see me this afternoon, as did Mr. Beebe, Chairman of Newsweek.

Col. Lovingfosse, from Brussels, called on me to tell me about his recent trip to Moscow.

Red Dowling talked to me this afternoon about conditions in Germany. We are both disconcerted by some of the decisions apparently reached in the Ambassadorial meetings in Washington. I had a telegram from the President today, which will require some intensive work over the weekend. It was as follows:

> "Eyes Only for the Ambassador from the President.
> Since your last visit came while I was at Newport on a holiday, I did not have a chance to meet with you, and I would now like to ask for a summary of your current views on Berlin. We are coming down to the wire on the formulation of an effective bargaining position, and I would like to know your own current ideas."

Tonight we had a dinner at the residence for

Lord and Lady John Hope
Lord Harcourt
Sir Rex and Lady Benson
Sir Edward and Lady Ford
Mr. and Mrs. Mellon
Mr. Garnett
Mrs. Leiter
Mr. Basil Taylor
Mr. and Mrs. Beale
Mrs. Braden,
Mrs. Railey
Mrs. Guest
Mr. Wells

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the Labour Party he and his colleagues thought ought to be taken by the Defence establishment. In the course of so doing, he ran foul of almost all the traditions of the three Services, [illegible]garded strategy, techniques, and the expenditure of funds. It was a stimulating talk, as were the questions that followed it.

E, Oatsie, Al and myself dined in the Ladies' Annex of the Turf Club.

October 20, 1961 - Friday

Leo D. Welsh, Chairman of Standard Oil of New Jersey, and George Parker, its local representative, came to see me this morning. I immensely enjoyed our much long talk. Welsh has been many places, seen a lot, and reflected upon public problems, as well as those of private business.

I lunched at the office.

The new Korean Ambassador, Kim Yong Sik, came to call on me. The Ambassador, named to London last summer, serves concurrently as Ambassador to Denmark, Norway and Sweden. He is a veteran career diplomat, and some observers viewed his posting to London as a political maneuver on the part of the military government in its attempt to remove potential rivals from the local scene. He reportedly stated in 1958 that he felt he had a chance to become president after Rhee's death. He is a lawyer by training and profession, and was graduated from Chuo University in Tokyo. During his diplomatic career he has served in the Philippines, Hong Kong, Honolulu and Tokyo. In 1957 he was transferred to Paris, but his lack of knowledge of French affected his usefulness, and he was not [redacted] active or successful in enlisting French support for his government. He was transferred to Geneva in 1960. Kim speaks fluent English, and is said to be favorably disposed toward the United States.

I liked him. He said the pheasant shooting in this country was the best in the world.

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I went to see Stella Reading this afternoon. We had a long, and to me, [redacted] useful talk.

Tonight E and I dined with the Hamish Hamiltons. There was a large company of political, artistic, and social figures there, and we had an entertaining evening.

October 21, 1961 - Saturday

I went down this morning on the train with Dorothy and De Myers to Oxford, to see Paul Mellon receive an honorary degree. We met at the Deanery of Christ Church, and were entertained by the Very Rev. C. A. Simpson, Dean of the College, whose pupil Myers had once been. Bunny and Paul Mellon, Eliza Lloyd, Vice Chancellor and Mrs. Norrington, were there. After sherry, we walked over to the beautiful Chapter House. It was an impressive ceremony, the proceedings being in Latin. The investiture speech had a good many humorous passages in it. In view of Mellon's [redacted] love of hunting, he was referred to as one who was as "fond of Diana as of Minerva". Afterwards, the Vice Chancellor gave a lunch for about 50 people in the Codrington Library. I sat between Mrs. Norrington and Mrs. Goodhart, Professor Arthur Goodhart's wife. The lunch was enjoyable.

I came back to London with the Myers on the afternoon train.

The Ford Foundation has contributed a million dollars toward the restoration and cleaning of some of the colleges at Oxford. Where the dirt and soot has been removed, the result is startingly attractive.

October 22, 1961 - Sunday

I stayed at home today, except for a trip to the Wallace Collection in the afternoon. People kept coming in and out for drinks with the three ladies who are staying with us.

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October 23, 1961 - Monday

I attended the Memorial Service for Dag Hammarskjold at Westminster Abbey this morning. In many respects it was the most magnificent ceremony I have ever witnessed. The trumpeters of the Royal Military School of Music provided martial noises, the famous Abbey Choir sang like mad. The ceremonial commenced with a procession of representatives of the Christian churches, headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and his chaplains. The Salvation Army was also in the line, as well as a delegate from the Swedish Church. There were all sorts of beadles, lay vicars, vergers, minor canons, major canons, the Dean of Westminster, with the Queen's almsmen, and some others. Meanwhile, the members of the British Cabinet, including the Prime Minister, had been placed in stalls in the nave of the Cathedral, facing the Diplomatic Corps and high officers of the British Government. The flag of the United Nations was borne in procession from the Chapel of St. George, by a Swedish officer. The Dean received it, and laid it on the altar. There were prayers, hymns, readings from Scripture, including the beautiful 11th and 12th chapters of Ecclesiastics, Psalms, a sermon by the Archbishop of Canterbury, a period of silence, a rolling of drums, a fanfare for heroes, a half-muffled peal from the bells of the Abbey Church, and picturesque passages to and fro of clergymen.

This afternoon, I presented an award for 20-year service to Elmer Hallowell, of the Agricultural Attache's office.

Drew Middleton came to see me this afternoon. Afterwards, Bill Martin, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Roosa of Treasury, and some of their assistants briefed me on conversations they had been holding with British officials on balance of payments, gold, and other problems.

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We had dinner tonight at the house for the following guests:

Mr. and Mrs. Charles Engelhard
Mr. and Mrs. Robert Hare
Lady Diana Cooper
Mr. William Clark
Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Agar
Sir Solly and Lady Joan Zuckermann
Mr. and Mrs. Robert Elson
Mrs. Leiter
Mr. Kelland
Mrs. Railey
Count Ahlefeldt
Mrs. Braden
Mr. Paul Mellon
Mrs. O'Shaughnessy

October 24, 1961 - Tuesday

Buck Crawford came to see me at 10:00 o'clock this morning. He has just made a successful tour through Scotland and the Midlands, in the course of which he aroused enthusiasm on the part of British investors for the purchase of American securities.

The Irish Ambassador made a return call on me this morning. He represents the best qualities of his countrymen, and is an agreeable companion.

Voit Gilmore, Director of the Travel Section of the Department of Commerce, also came to see me. He has great enthusiasm, and seems to take it for granted that through the efforts of his section the United States will soon be swarming with foreign visitors.

I lunched today at the office with Felix von Eckhardt, who had come over from Bonn. I [redacted] heard he had refused the post as German Ambassador in London, but he said it had never gotten to the point where it was necessary for him to make a decision, since von Brentano had opposed his selection. He does not expect to continue much longer with the Chancellor, whose public relations he has handled so admirably for ten years.

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We reverted to the idea of internationalization of the Berlin enclave, which we [redacted] talked about so much years ago. He still favors it, having no reliance upon the stability of a continued status quo. Contrary to the opinion of many people, he believes on the whole it would be advantageous from a strictly United Nations standpoint to have its capital transferred to Berlin. He said the question of expense did not bother him, since he believed the German Federal Government would gladly shoulder it, if necessary. As to the point that the Germans would consider internationalization of Berlin a blow to reunification because it would no longer be eligible as a capital for a united country, he believed it would be satisfactory under such circumstances to have Potsdam become such a capital, if one were ever needed.

This afternoon I saw Sir Francis Peek, a partner of Stash Radziwill in a building and investment company. He is going to the Argentine next week to investigate the possibilities of a big deal there, and wanted a letter of introduction to our Ambassador.

After a haircut, I saw Henry Arnold, a USIS Inspector.

It has rained all day.

October 25, 1961 - Wednesday

The Venezuelan Ambassador, an intelligent man, came to see me this morning. Afterwards, the Lebanese Ambassador made his return call. He is fluent in French, and a great traveler. I lunched at the American Club.

This afternoon, the Ambassador of El Salvador came to see me. I like him especially. He has two boys whom he wants to send to Groton School, and I promised to inquire into their enrollment.

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Jimmy Riddleberger dropped in for a few minutes. He says [redacted] Ellis Briggs, Ambassador to Greece, is recovering rapidly from his heart attack, and will soon be out of hospital. The same is unfortunately not true of Tony Biddle, who is desperately ill with cancer in Washington. We had word yesterday that Jock Whitney had been taken to a [redacted] hospital in New York with influenza and a heart attack.

Adolph Schmidt called on me this afternoon. He is chairman of the five-man U. S. Citizens Committee on NATO. He talked interestingly about his plans. They hope to call a meeting as soon after January 1st as possible, somewhere on the continent, and buckle down to oratory, and possibly to the drafting of an Atlantic Constitution.

He is a member of almost every private organization connected with Atlantic political and economic affairs, and has, I think, more than any one else been responsible for raising funds to support them. He gave me lots of news about mutual friends and former business associates in Pittsburgh. Arthur Davis, former Chairman of the Aluminum Company, on whose Board I was a Director many years, is now 94, somewhat senile, and has succeeded in what I would have thought a difficult task, of almost dissipating his enormous fortune by investment in Florida and Caribbean real estate.

Tonight E and I attended a farewell reception for General Boswell at the Embassy. He is retiring from the Army, and I am sad to think of his wife and himself leaving here.

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after a vacation at home. I had met him some years ago in Bonn, and been favorably impressed by him. He is leaving for Germany next week. I thought his ideas sound.

I went tonight to a dinner at the Dorchester Hotel, given by the Old Millhillians Club. Scoop Jackson had written me about this, since its new President, Mr. William D. Davies, is an American citizen and a friend of Jackson. After the toasts, the retiring President read a telegram from the Queen. I followed, and after some preliminary remarks, read a message from President Kennedy in praise of Davies and the Club. There were about 290 guests. I sat between Mr. Davies and Rt. Hon. Lord Justice Sellers. The standard of oratory was high. Mr. Moore, the Headmaster, who has recently returned from a nine-months stay in California, made a brilliant speech.

October 28, 1961 - Saturday

Some people came to lunch. I went out to the shooting school this afternoon, and fired 100 cartridges at clay pigeons. Daylight saving time ends tonight, so the clocks will be put back one hour.

I had a call from the State Department, asking me to talk to the Secretary on the private line at 10:00 o'clock this evening. I came down to do so, but when I finally reached the Secretary at 11:00 p.m., the special contrivance did not function.

What he apparently had in mind was that the President and himself wanted me to return to Washington, and as far as I could understand from the necessary double talk, to take on the job of Under Secretary of State.

It was obvious we could not continue this conversation, so he suggested I communicate with him on the subject tomorrow and give my reaction. He said it was to be regarded as entirely secret, and I should speak to nobody about it except Evangeline.

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October 29, 1961 - Sunday

I read telegrams this morning, and prepared an answer for Dean Rusk to his inquiry of last night. I had to make some complicated arrangements at the Embassy, as well as in Washington, to insure there would be no distribution, at either end, of the message. That was easy enough here, since only one officer in the code room was to see it. I sent it off as follows:

"Eyes Only for Secretary of State. No distribution whatever.

In regard to yesterday's conversation, I have carefully considered what you suggested. I deeply appreciate what you had in mind for me, but regret I cannot accept it.

There are several reasons for such a decision. The principal ones are that I do not feel adequately qualified for the position. More importantly am temperamentally so opposed to assuming its duties and obligations that I would be ineffective.

Please believe that I feel honored by your thought of me and would, on personal grounds, have welcomed the prospect of such a close association with you.

If, in connection with the fundamental shifts that may be contemplated, it might be desirable and convenient to clear the London post, I want sincerely to assure the President and yourself that my replacement here would be thoroughly satisfactory and understood by me.

Observe eyes only. No distribution whatever."

Ros Gilpatric and his wife came to lunch with us, and we had a delightful time. His mission, both in Germany and England, seems to have been entirely successful. I was, as I have been in the past, greatly impressed by him. This afternoon we had a cocktail party. Mrs. Charles Monroe, Jane Scott, from Wilmington, Delaware, with her daughter and son-in-law, the Garnetts, Pierre Salinger, Roger Tubby, Congressmen Miller and Van Pelt and their wives, Mr. and Mrs. Harry Nelson from Boston, Paul Mellon, the Wisners, Stewart Alsop, Tom Braden, Al Wells and his daughter, were there.

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October 30, 1961 - Monday

The intelligent Ambassador from South Africa made a return call on me. He has travelled extensively in the United States. He said he was much impressed by the views of Mayor Hartsfield of Atlanta, Georgia on anti-segregation in that city.

Allen Dulles came to see me this morning. I lunched at the Garrick Club with Drew Middleton. Raymond Aron was there with Hugh Gaitskell. He is a brilliant fellow, and I had not seen him for a couple of years.

The new German Ambassador, Dr. Hasso von Etzdorf, called on me. A career diplomat, he was chief of the Western Division of the Foreign Office since July, 1958, handling relations with the United States, the UN, NATO, Latin America and Africa south of the Sahara. The son of a high ranking East Prussian Government official, von Etzdorf was born in 1900 at Elbing, now in Poland. After study law, he entered the Foreign Office. After the fall of France, he was assigned to the Kunzberg Command at Fontainebleau, whose mission it was to organize the plunder of French art in France. After an assignment to the Army Supreme Command as liaison officer of the Foreign Office, he was for a brief time consul general in Genoa, and was again in Berlin when the war ended. With the reestablishment of the Foreign Office in 1951, von Etzdorf became a division chief, and in 1953 was appointed deputy chief of the German delegation to the Interim Committee of EDC in Paris. In 1955 he became deputy secretary general of the Western European Union in London. He was then Ambassador to Canada from 1956 to 1958.

His activities at Fontainebleau, his membership in the Storm Troops and the Nazi party after 1933, led a post-war de-Nazification tribunal to classify von Etzdorf as a "fellow-travelling Nazi". However, he was cleared to work in

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the Foreign Office when a German investigating committee concluded that he had risked his life in resistance activities and had not participated in any of the criminal functions of the Kunzberg command.

I haveknown von Etzdorf for some years. He is knowledgeable about German wines, and had a fine cellar of them in Bonn.

Dr. Richard Neustadt, who is spending a year lecturing at Oxford, called on me. He has written rather authoritative books on the United States Executive Authority, and other subjects. It is useful to have him here. He is a friend of the President, and highly articulate.

The Moroccan Ambassador returned my call. He remains confused over the effects of fall-out, especially in view of the news today of the Soviets having exploded a fifty-megaton bomb.

Tonight at the office I presented Bob Hope with the "Golden Plate Award" on behalf of the Academy of Achievement. Hope arrived with two or three friends, and I handed over the prize plate. We interchanged a few courtesies, and then went to the private dining room for drinks with the spectators and others who came to see him. There was quite a crowd downstairs to watch him depart. He is an amusing fellow, and told us several stories.

I had a dinner for Allen Dulles and John McCone tonight. It went off well. Those present were:

Sir Hugh Stephenson
Sir Dick White
Maj. General Sir Kenneth Strong
Maj. General C. R. Price
Rear Admiral N. E. Denning
Maj. General Richard E. Lloyd
Commander Clive Loehnis
Mr. Graham R. Mitchel
Mr. J. J. B. Hunt
Mr. Frank Wisner
Mr. Carlton Swift

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Mr. Connors, of Withers, Nicholl, Manisty & Co., gave me a statement as of October 31, covering household expenditures made by me from March through September 30, 1961. These are running at a rate in excess of £ 8,000 a quarter.

	March 1961 to June 1961	July 1961 to September 1961
Wages and Petty Cash expenditure for Winfield House	2,651	2,913
Purchase of Wines etc.	3,058	509
Purchase of Cigarettes etc.	38	59
Printing Invitation Cards etc.	61	107
Paid to caterers	48	969
Purchase of Foodstuffs etc.	1,767	1,487
Laundry and Cleaning	258	333
Household Cleaning Materials	137	282
Window Cleaning and Refuse Disposal	68	161
Misc. Household Expenditure	445	371
Telephones	17	137
Automobiles	24	105
Charitable Donations, etc.	54	29
Personal expenditure	43	486
Travel	-	208
	8,669	8,156

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October 31, 1961 - Tuesday

We went to the opening of Parliament this morning, E in evening dress, and I in white tie and evening clothes. We picked up the Duchess of Buccleuch, and took her with us. She was wearing magnificent emeralds. All concerned had to be in their seats by 10:45, although the ceremony itself did not commence until the Queen entered the House of Lords at 11:30. There was a large representation from the Diplomatic Corps, so we sat pressed tightly together on narrow benches. The Chamber itself is small, and was jammed with people. The red robes and ermine of the peers, the wigs of the Justices, the formal court clothes of several Ambassadors, the English women with their tiaras, all lent a touch of the exotic to the performance. The Queen and Prince Philip arrived in a state coach, drawn by six white horses. Just before she entered the Chamber, a fanfare announced her impending arrival, and heralds preceded her into the room. The lights had been dimmed, but went on full again as she walked in with a flock of courtiers, such as Black Rod, the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Earl Marshal, and a good many other individuals with quaint appellations. There was a pause while the cellars beneath the House were searched for gunpowder--a custom dating back to the time of the Guy Fawkes plot. All seemed well below stairs, so doors at the end of the room were thrown open and the Lord High Chancellor, with others, including the Cabinet and the Leader of the Opposition, entered. By this time there was great congestion, and not a foot of standing room,

[redacted]

The Queen read the speech from the Throne. This lasted about ten minutes; then we filed out.

The Bradens, who are staying with us, lunched at home with us.

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